spirits when he makes his palio. Usually he requests that the spirits punish any individual who tries to secretly interfere with the palio. The palio is performed by a man, but not necessarily by a specialist.

Oracion reports similar practices among the Magahats of Tolong in order to determine whether the spirits approve of a new caingin. In the proposed caingin site the Magahats place a pole and put at the top a small vine roll. The roll of vines is said to symbolize a crown and the stick the diwa (unseen spirits).[11] The cultivator returns home and his dreams for the next three days are interpreted as favorable or unfavorable signs. For example, if he dreams of sickness or death this is a bad omen and the caingin area is abandoned. Normally, however, the cultivators dreams are said to be favorable.[12]

Dream interpretation for selection of a caingin site appears to be more important among the Magahats than in Siaton. The writer did not inquire specifically whether dreams were used as omens in the selection of a caingin but the palio would seem to make dreams superfluous. The

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[11] Diwa was the name for idols in pre-Hispanic Philippines. "Others...reverenced most ugly idols made of stone or wood, which they called divatas." Luis de Jesus, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 203. Caticugan barriofolk use diwata today as a synonym for "superstition" and as the name for a rite connected with the fish corral.

[12] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

The caingin clearing is a man's job. Sometimes the women may be weeding an old caingin nearby. During the clearing and burning the cultivators from the lowland barrios live at their caingins in temporary shelters. Often they go to their caingins on Monday bringing sufficient food to last till Saturday when they return to the barrio. 241 [462]

Caingin Crops

Caingins are planted at the start of the rainy season in April or May and continuing to July. One caingin above Dolog was planted with rice as early as February while other nearby caingins were planted as late as August. Rice and corn are planted in hills with a dibble stick (gahok). A hole is made in the ground with the point of the dibble stick and as much rice as one can hold between the thumb and first or second finger is put in the hills that are separated about the distance of one handspan. Seed corn is planted four or five kernels to a hill and is mainly a woman's job, although the men may help. Several caingins were observed, however, in which the rice had been sowed broadcast. [412] [462]

The two major caingin crops are rice and corn; abaca is probably the most important associated plant. Other minor crops are camotes, ubi (Dioscorea esculenta Linn.); balanghoy (cassava: Manihot utilissima Pohl); bananas and tahores beans (tapilan phaseolus multiflorus Wild). The rice varieties planted are: Capayo (Capayong);

or two-fifths of all we dig and slice. The caingin owners are busy then making a new caingin, this is why they are glad to see us. It is as if we had planted our own cassava. We live there and help make slices. Some of the people bring their own food and others get food from the caingin owners. We live in their houses.

Last year my wife went to Dodong's field in Padang. Mostly women went because it was during the plowing season. It was March. I did not go, just my wife. Our share was four sacks of mixed dried cassava and camotes chips. People in Padang live differently than the people in Naga. In the mountains one can plant many things. Here we just plow in season. In the mountains one can plant red squash, gabi, pesula [a variety of squash] sikwa [commonly called patola: Luffa acutangula Linn.]. There are no big houses in the mountains. They are not permanent because after three years the caingin owners have to look for another place to caingin.

Women and children are usually the ones that go to the mountains to harvest the caingins. I was told by some informants that "men would be olao [ashamed or embarrassed] to harvest rice in someone else's caingin. The people would say they did not know how to make their own caingin." However, some men do go, particularly the unmarried men (olitaos) who are said to "follow the dalagas [unmarried] young women." This is an interesting comment, for a young man courts a girl in the barrio under many handicaps. To be able to work and talk with her, away from the surveillance of the family, would have many advantages.[14]

Rice is cut one stalk at the time with a small knife. Rice heads are put into small baskets strapped to the harvester's side; later they are emptied into larger baskets. Rice is threshed and corn is harvested by the

[14] I never observed a caingin corn or rice harvest.

(rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled), one plate of cooked rice, and four bamboo containers of tuba made from either the coconut or ediok palms.[20] 241 574 801

Guests normally do not participate in the offering but stand or sit around the edges of the field. Some women may be inside the house preparing food for the meal that follows the ceremony. If the caingin owner feels confident, he may conduct the ceremony himself. Otherwise he will request a man well-versed in the ritual to make his offering. The "speech" given during the brief ritual, however, appears to be an improvisation and not a recitation that requires a nimble memory. Yet many people do not wish to perform the ceremonies for the loto or the dulot because they believe any mistakes might offend the unseen spirits they seek to please. 241 574 241 537

The ceremony is always conducted by a man. No cases were reported of a woman who made the loto or dulot; this is interesting because the magical rites connected with lowland agriculture are normally performed by women. The man goes to the center of the caingin and stands by by the table. Speaking to the spirits and kalags (souls) of the parents or relatives of the caingin cultivator, he invites them to dine on the proffered food. The specialist may repeat his invitation in a whisper or speak loudly. According to one female informant, what is said usually is: 241 537 [791] [462] 241 337 788

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[20] The Magahats offer one chicken, seven tilad, seven rice cakes, seven tinostos, two glasses of tuba, and three candles. Oracion, op. cit., p. 59-60.

early the seedlings may be transplanted early and if the rains are delayed the seedlings are permitted to grow longer than usual. When the seedlings are pulled for transplanting if they are too tall their tops are trimmed with a bolo. 243

Preparing the Rice Paddy (Pilapil) and Transplanting

Rice seedlings are usually transplanted in Caticugan in August and September at the peak of the rainy season. An "expert" can pull seedlings with both hands at the same time, although most people use only one hand. A small bunch of seedlings is pulled, perhaps five to ten per bunch, and the dirt shaken from their roots to make it easier to carry them to the paddies. The seedlings, often tied in small bunches, are carried to the fields in baskets. Pulling of the seedlings is done mostly by women and older children since the men are busy putting the last touches on the paddies. Paddies normally are fully prepared just before transplanting. If they are harrowed and leveled the day before transplanting the soil might become too dry before the seedlings are planted. [462]

Preparation of the paddies is a time-consuming task. Usually they have been plowed once before the heavy rains so that the soil will absorb water more fully. The low dykes built around the paddies may be repaired to prevent leakage, although the dykes in Caticugan are so low and well-packed (they are often used as paths) that their repair is a minor task.

20: Hart E-5 (1954) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

planters small, only part of the field is prepared for immediate transplanting. Sometimes several days are taken to transplant one paddy. A group may be transplanting in part of the paddy while in another part a man is harrowing or leveling the soil. 243

Transplanting is done by both sexes. Men transplant rice more noticeably than they plant corn. One reason is the back-breaking work of transplanting seedlings. If all the seedlings are not planted the same day, they are put in water and placed in the shade. 243 462

Cooperative transplanting groups are very rare in Caticugan. None was observed during my residence. It is considered cheaper today to pay one's helpers than to prepare and furnish the food and drink necessary for cooperative labor groups. Hired planters are paid fifty cents a day and given their breakfast and lunch. The few people who hired laborers to help transplant paddies in Caticugan were owners who lived in the poblacion. 243 476 [465]

Transplanting time is not a festive period it is said to be in some parts of the Philippines. In Caticugan there were no songs and music. A Philippine school song aptly describes the transplanting in Caticugan. 243

> Planting rice is never fun.
> Bent from morn till the set of sun.
> Cannot stand and cannot sit
> Cannot rest for a little bit[28]

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[28]Ortigas, Jr., op. cit., p. 1.

The most common corn variety planted in Caticugan's fields is Bisaya, also called Pakilab ("glittery") and Tiniguib. The provincial agriculture office classifies Bisaya corn as Cahu White Flint which was found in 1939 to be the second heaviest yielder in all seasons in the Philippines.[40] Some farmers in Datag, Sandolot and Casala-an plant a variety called Bagsiao in their lowland fields.[41] A few farmers plant Talariray and Kalipos, possibly additional names for Bisaya. Kalipos is said "to be like Bisaya but not pure" so it is probably a local strain. 243

Planting the seed corn is largely a woman's job. Usually the men are plowing the furrows while the women and children follow behind to plant the seed corn. Planting of corn is a tiresome task but not backbreaking like transplanting rice seedlings. However, this factor is secondary in explaining why the women do the planting. There is no feeling among the men that planting corn is a "woman's job." In fact when asked the men will reply "Oh, everyone plants corn." But this is not entirely correct. A record was kept of individuals and their sex who planted corn in Caticugan over a period of several weeks. These figures are given in Table XVII.[1] 243 462 [183]

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[40] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 113.

[41] The barriofolk said no Bagsiao was planted in Caticugan because it took longer to mature and did not stand the heat as well as Bisaya.

1 [See p. 334, cat. 243 or 462 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

TABLE XVII

Division of Labor by Sex

In Planting Corn in Caticugan, 1951

Planters	Number
Women	67
Girls	15
Boys	10
Men	9

More than 80 per cent of the corn planters observed in Caticugan for this 2-week period were females.

Planting corn is done with the feet. The planters walk down the furrow carrying seed corn in a coconut shell, bamboo container or straw hat. With bare feet they push away the larger clods and make a shallow depression inside the furrow. Four or five seeds are dropped in each hill. The seeds are then covered and the hill firmly pressed with the feet; the hands are never used. Since hills are planted one step apart, the distance between hills depends upon the pace of the planter. Sometimes, but not commonly, the field may be plowed in a grid pattern and the seed corn planted at the points where the furrows intersect.

There are lihis associated with the planting of corn. Many barriofolk prefer to plant their corn when the tide is high and during yayong--when the full moon rises immediately after sunset. Few people plant or work in their fields or paddies on Sunday for religious reasons.

The lihis for planting corn, like those for rice, are not rigidly structured. There are certain items that

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A green worm (tohob) often attacks young corn and is said to cause the leaves to turn yellow. One charm (sumpa) against this particular worm is to stick a few branches of the thorny bagakay bamboo in the field. Magahats also put bagakay bamboo in their rice fields to frighten away the maya birds.[43]

Several weeks after the corn is sowed, hills that did not germinate are replanted (pona). Replanting is done in the same manner corn is planted in the saingins; a dibble stick is used to make a hole into which new seed is dropped. This is usually a woman's job. [462]

When the corn is five or six inches high the fields are usually plowed for weed control. The first plowing for weeds is called abre binagsa (a corruption of abrir (Sp.) "to open or uncover" and binagsa (Ceb.) "first"). Plowing is done in a criss-cross manner between the hills or rows of corn. About a month later, when the corn is nearly head tall, the fields may be replowed, known as abre tagorha. Sometimes this is done like the first plowing; or two furrows may be made between the rows, throwing soil over the corn stalks' roots. While nearly all farmers plow their fields once, the second plowing is often omitted if the fields are not weedy. A few farmers make no attempt at weed control. One field in Talo-ot had weeds higher than the mature corn but this was exceptional.

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[43] Oracion, op. cit., p. 54.

passing the field said he thought sigbins were eating the corn because it was so early in the morning. Some barrio-folk thought this dawn harvest unfair and the owner was said to be "greedy." In two instances fields were harvested Sunday morning when many of the women were attending church in the poblacion; normally no work is done in the fields on Sunday. Another cultivator began to harvest a small cornfield and attracted the manalabangs; then other members of the family harvested a larger field. The small harvest decoyed the manalabangs away from the larger field. 243 476

These harvesters are mostly women and young children. Men rarely harvest corn other than their own crop; they are said to be ashamed or embarrassed to do so. Most manalabangs who harvested corn or rice in Caticugan came from the nearby barrios. Once a harvest begins the news spreads rapidly and the manalabangs scurry toward the field with folded sacks on their heads to carry home their share. A field that could be harvested in several hours by a family may have forty or fifty unrequested harvesters. 243 476 462 857

While the share of the manalabangs varies it is never large. Their share depends upon (1) the size of the field; (2) the amount of corn harvested; (3) the number of harvesters present, and (4) the generosity of the cultivator. Relatives of the cornfield's owner or cultivator usually get more than non-relatives although both groups do the same amount of work. Harvesters who arrive after the harvest is completed may be given a few ears of corn 243 476

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Corn stalks from the first paddy corn harvest are given to those who cut them. At this time the nearby grazing areas are green and fodder is plentiful. During the harvest or shortly afterwards men or young boys come to cut the stalks and carry them home for their animals. However, in the later corn and rice harvests the cultivators do not donate the harvested stalks. By this time the pastures have begun to dry up; the corn and rice stalks are retained by the owners for their own animals.

Local Harvest Migrations

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During July many people from Caticugan, the poblacion and nearby barrios go to Omanod to help in the corn harvest. Corn is usually harvested earlier in Omanod than in Siaton.[49] Omanod is situated in a small riverine plain in Sta. Catalina municipality, about three or four miles west of Barrio Bonawon. In 1951 people came from Bacong and Dauin to help in the Omanod corn harvest. Some took the bus and others from Siaton poblacion walked or rode horses. Women and young children outnumbered men. Several families in Caticugan and the poblacion left younger children under the care of an elder daughter while mother and father went to Omanod.

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[49]Siaton corn harvests sometimes occur before those of Omanod. Normally, however, the earlier rains of Omanod make it possible for the barriofolk to plant (and harvest) their corn before Siaton. However, in 1952, fewer harvesters went to Omanod from Siaton because both harvests occurred about the same period.

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[774]

rich man does not treat us kindly." Very few people in Caticugan knew this story. Possibly, in the past, the barriofolk may have believed corn had a "soul"; among some of the peoples of Southeast Asia (for example, Indo-China) rice is believed to possess a soul.

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The second paddy corn and the first non-irrigated corn harvests usually occur in August and September. Manalabangs do not present such a problem since they are busy in their own fields and there are more crops to harvest. This is a busy period for everyone, particularly the women. They travel to Sandolot, Casala-an and other nearby barrios to obtain corn to replenish inadequate supplies. It is difficult not to think of the statement made by Taft that "the best man in the Philippines is the woman" when one observes the activities of these female harvesters. Their untiring efforts to maintain food for their family make many of them quiet heroes.

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"Wet season" corn is harvested in August and the "dry season" corn, second non-irrigated crop, is normally planted in October. September is the climax month of the rainy season so the farmers wait until October when the monthly precipitation decreases considerably yet the fields are still moist enough to plow and plant. The second non-irrigated corn crop is normally harvested in Caticugan and environs in January or February. Some northern barrios, like Dolog, plant a third corn crop but the acreage is small.

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might be started. Noon is a popular time for these gatherings or just after the day's work is done. A buri-producing guhang is rarely without flies, bees and thirsty drinkers looking for a few "drinks on the cuff." At night the men may gather at the buri by the light of the lamp. Guhang trees are a sort of "rural poolhall" in Caticugan.

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Guhang lihis are always made by men. This is unusual since most of the other lihis in Caticugan, particularly in regard to agriculture, are held by women. However, there is a fairly general feeling among many of the barriofolk that it is not wise to permit a woman to ascend a guhang buri since she might contaminate it--especially if she is menstruating. Some believe a menstruating woman might cause the guhang to become malodorous or the sap to stop flowing. Other reasons why few women climb a buri are well summed up by this comment of one woman.

> There is nothing wrong if women climb guhang trees, only it is too dangerous for women to climb. Our skirt might be tangled in the thorns [of the tree] and there is danger of falling. We have a new guhang and just the other day I climbed our guhang because somebody came to buy some guhang and my son and my husband were out working in the field. Our guhang is quite short and nothing happened to the guhang [because she climbed the tree].

Another woman said:

> I have climbed our guhang many times. Others said that it is not good for women to climb the guhang for the guhang might become malodorous. But I do not believe in this because the tuba [guhang] of the guhang [buri] that I have climbed many times did not become malodorous.

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However, I never once saw a woman climb or sit at the top of a buri.

When the lihi is to be held the owner or a mananguete ascends the ladder to the top of the buri. The "eye" is retrimmed with a special bolo called ig-alabis and a small hole bored into its center. Many of the ingredients listed for the lihi (Table XX)[1] are put in a small bottle and mixed with vinegar and/or Mallorca. Most of this liquid is poured into the hole made in the "eye" and the bottle may be left in the palm. The pag-i tail and three small sharpened pieces of bagakay bamboo are put in the hole in the "eye"; sometimes a piece of paniawan vine is hung on one of the upper frond stems.

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Three days after this lihi the buri's "eye" is again retrimmed. A small groove now is cut in the "eye" to direct the flowing sap down a trough and into a large jar (tadyao). (See Plate XXVIII.)[2] Normally the "eye" is trimmed once if not several times each day.

> Fresh cuts [of the "eye"] should be made at frequent intervals, as the rate of the flow [of the sap] may be thus temporarily increased as much as 50 per cent. The rate also varies according to the thickness of the slice removed; at least, if the exudation is from the top of the trunk...As it flows from the tree and for a short time after, the sap is colorless, odorless, and neutral or slightly alkaline. After standing a viscous, followed by a putrid, fermentation develops when no precaution is taken to prevent it. The sucrose begins to invert in a few hours and the process is complete in about thirty hours. A comparatively small yield of alcohol results from the spontaneous fermentation of the sap; a greater portion of the reducing sugars being changed by the viscous, putrid, and other fermentations than by the alcoholic...[58]

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[58] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 298.

1 [See p. 380ff, cat. 273 + 245--Analyst]

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Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

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[435]

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Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

Camotes

The farmers offer three major reasons why so few camotes (amotes) are planted in Barrio Caticugan. First, to intercrop camotes with the first corn would make it impossible to plant a second crop. Second, between the harvest of the first and the planting of the second corn crops the barriofolk permit their pigs to roam the locality. The most desirable land for camotes, from an edaphic (soil) viewpoint, is unfenced cornfields near the residences. Third, since there are only a few camote fields in the community, cuttings are sometimes difficult to secure; one must go to other barrios or even to mountain caingins to obtain plants. The barriofolk often barter one-half a ganta of salt for as many camote cuttings as they can carry home.

Fields to be planted with camote cuttings are usually plowed twice; the final furrows are made in a grid pattern. After the heavy rains begin these furrows are replowed to increase their depth. Men, women and children plant cuttings in these furrows; there does not appear to be any division of this labor by sex.

Lihis for camote planting are normally done by the person inserting the cuttings in the field; no specialist is needed. Some barriofolk take three shells of the first hatching of a hen (turtle egg shells are better but more difficult to secure), a little sugar and lime (made from snail or sea shells), pieces from the winnowing basket, stone chips from the sog-ang (the three stones used

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damaged by farmyard animals they receive no care. Rats are the greatest pest. Sometimes the ground under many trees is littered with fallen young nuts that rats have gnawed to eat the tender meat. In Caticugan no one attempts to protect their trees from the rats. In the northern barrios now and then I saw thorny vines wound around the trunk to keep the rats from climbing the palm.

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The first nuts of a palm are harvested without any ceremony. Normally in Caticugan the nuts are harvested every three months, by a man who climbs the tree using notches cut into the trunk. Nuts are either twisted from their stems or cut with a bolo. Husking the nuts is often done by the women. The nut is split and the meat extracted with a bolo or smaller knife; the meat is then dried on mats in the sun for three days. The copra (dried coconut meat) is sacked, carried to the poblacion and sold at any of several Chinese stores. Chinese copra dealers in Dumaguete send trucks along the National Road to pick up the copra from local stores.

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It is difficult to assess the income the barrio people receive from their copra. Copra prices vary from year to year as do the harvests. A farmer in Barrio Caticugan said forty trees earned him fifty dollars in one year; another reported an income of sixty dollars from fifty trees. The owner of the largest coconut grove was not willing to divulge data of income received from copra. However, a tenant said just from one harvest the owner got twenty sacks of copra weighing from 135 to 150 pounds

Vegetables and Other Garden Crops

Vegetables approximate guhang as the most important source of cash income for the majority of families in Caticugan. The majority of barriofolk have a small home garden, plagued by insects, farmyard animals and lack of care. The gardens are rarely fenced. A number of families plant vegetables mainly for sale in the poblacion. Gardens are usually tended by women, who also sell the vegetables. In a recent descriptive account of a barrio in Bulacanan province, Luzon, this fact is stated indirectly:

> At Anilao [the name of the barrio] day begins in the night's small hours, when the men rise to go fishing...When the men return home at dawn, the women are up, breakfast has long been ready...All morning the men sleep, while the women work the vegetable gardens or gather grass to sell to rig drivers.71

Nearly every morning a few women from Caticugan could be seen carrying vegetables to sell to the poblacion.

Vegetable gardens often are planted on the canal banks in Caticugan. This location is considered desirable because the ground is usually moist and better drained during the rainy season when many gardens die of flooding. Pieces of thorny bamboo are put in the ground to support stringbeans, gourds and squashes. A few women hang strings of seaweed on the bamboo supports of the gourds and squashes; these are said to repel insects.

71"Life in Barrio Anilao," Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 40 (October 3, 1953), p. 28. This unsigned article consists mainly of photographs that present some realistic scenes of barrio life. Underlining in quotation by writer.

diet when there is no need to barter or sell them for more filling dietary necessities and when cultural factors favor vegetable production.

Though women predominate in gardening activities in Caticugan the poblacion school teaches only the boys to grow vegetables. It was an early American idea to add gardening activities to the elementary curriculum; the officials concerned did not realize that in the barrios gardening is mainly a female activity. This is probably because women, not men, are the vendors of vegetables. In fact, a man who would sell vegetables in Caticugan would be a deviant in the eyes of most of the barriofolk. One man who vended vegetables was known to all as a bayote, a name for very feminine-acting men. In southern Negros the school boys are being trained to do a girl's work in the barrios.

Kalamongay

The most commonly grown vegetable in Caticugan is kalamongay (Tag. Malungay: Moringa oleifera Linn.), a small tree-like plant that produces leafy branches. The branches are cut and stripped; the small tender leaves are cooked as greens. Kalamongay often grows so tall that small children can climb it or the top branches are cut with a small knife tied to a bamboo. When the rains come kalamongay is cut back and new cuttings planted. Sometimes ashes are spread around the base of the newly-planted

The task of taking the animals to the river to drink and bathe, or of moving them to another area to graze (if pegged) is often the duty of young boys. 231 [462]

Rinderpest was introduced to the Philippines in 1888 and ten years later the disease appeared in Siaton, killing many carabaos. In 1920 and again in 1940 rinderpest struck in Siaton decimating the carabao herd. There is no specific native medicine for rinderpest, although many owners treated their animals with the same medicines used for diarrhea or dysentery in humans. A white film sometimes grows over their eyes and, if not cured, results in blindness. One medicine applied by the barriofolk to eyes so afflicted is a mixture of salt, powdered clay pot, and crushed red peppers! Native veterinarian specialists are called mangalapon; there was none in Caticugan but one lived in Sandolot. To my knowledge he never came to Caticugan to treat a sick animal; this was done by the owner. 232

Carabaos are sometimes bitten by a poisonous spider (lawalawa). As a result of the bite, both humans and carabaos are reported to suffer a swollen abdomen and to be unable to urinate; death sometimes results. Treatment is the same for carabaos as for humans. The following ingredients are used: roots of the hono (Abrus precatorius Linn.), tubli (Derris), ongali (Uvaria rufa Blume) and pakobol vines; roots of the homokan, salowasowa (Citrus hystrix, family Rutaceae) and pauli trees, and roots from the taghoy bush, (Canthium gynochthodes Baill.). 278 232 757 824

uncooked leaves are itchy and the pigs will not eat them. 231
The food is put in a bamboo or stone trough placed under the house. Pigs are fed once a day, usually in the late afternoon. The job of preparing food and feeding them [462] usually is done by young girls and women.

One fairly widespread custom is the belief that a small turtle kept in kinilis water may prevent the pigs from becoming sick. The urine and feces of the little fresh-water turtles are said to have medicinal qualities and protect the pig from hog cholera. One family had three turtles in the kitchen kinilis can.

Stray pigs do a great deal of damage to vegetable gardens. In the poblacion the people explain the few vegetable gardens as due to stray pigs and goats. A local ordinance makes owners liable for their stray animals; now and then a drive is made by the police to fine owners of stray pigs. On the whole, however, the ordinance is not enforced, mainly because few people report violations. Many people complain but few take action. 231 244

Goats

Goats (kanding), like swine, are a pre-Spanish animal; Pigafetta writes that when Magellan's group landed at Cebu the people had pigs, goats and chickens. Goat meat is considered less desirable than pork by most of the people; the principalia of the poblacion would rarely serve goat meat to guests. However, the goats of Siaton 231

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It is a frequent saingin volunteer and one could see plants growing in poblacion vacant lots. Igao has been studied so there is some information on its nutritional value.[11] The igao's petioles are boiled and fed to the pigs (but never eaten by the people in Caticugan) while the corms are gathered for food.

All wild corms are dug during the dry or hot season. When the rainy season appears the roots become very fibrous and less agreeable to eat. It is fortunate for the barriofolk that the corms are most palatable during the period when they are most needed. With the coming of the rains the igao leafs out and the corms turn black. They may still be dug to feed to pigs but this is not a common practice in Caticugan. Barriofolk regard the corms as most palatable in March and April.

Both men and women dig for wild roots. However, when the roots are shallow and easily dug, women and children normally dig them. If the vines are very thorny

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[11] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 344. The Tagalog name for igao is puñgapung. R. F. Bacon, "Starch Production in the Philippines," Phil. Journal of Science, A 3 (1908), states the highest yield of starch obtainable from the igao corms is 4.5 per cent; this study cited in Brown, ibid. More recent studies by Wester and Hermano give the following data on the constituents of the igao corm: moisture 77.8 (74.8) per cent; ash 1.3 (0.7); fat 0.13 (0.6); protein 1.4 (5.1); and giving 574 (1,000) calories per 2.2 pounds. Hermano's study is cited in Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 344-348. Hermano's figures are enclosed in (). P. J. Wester, The Food Plants of the Philippines. 3rd revised edition. Manila, Bureau of Agriculture Bulletin No. 39, Bureau of Printing, 1925, p. 218.

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Snails are gathered all year except when the river is flooded and too swift to collect them. Even during the rainy season, the snails are collected between floods. Another factor that discourages people from gathering snails during the rainy season is the appearance in the river of the poisonous golden-colored fish, lupo. When stepped on, this fish inflicts a painful wound.

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Both sexes gather snails in the river, although it is done mostly by women and young children. As one female informant explained: "Women are easier to group together than men and in the evening the men like to drink guhang." Snails are collected in the day or at night by moonlight or a flashlight.

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Kapia, Ungka and Bong-Bong are usually found on top of stones at night or under them during the day. The people explain that at night the snails come from under the stones to feed. Soso and Tibo-Tibo normally occur on the sandy river bottom. When snails are gathered during the day stones are turned over along the river edge where the water is shallow. The people wear a small bamboo container or carry a can in which to put the snails.

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Snails are boiled, sometimes with vegetables, to make soup (sabao). The meat is then extracted from the shell and eaten. Most houses have a nearby kitchen midden of discarded snail and clam shells.

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To make lime (apog) for betel nut chewing, snail shells are put in a half section of dry bamboo that is

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Marine mollusks are gathered mainly by women and young girls; men and young boys infrequently participate. The mollusks are gathered at low tide usually during or just before a full moon; the women enjoy collecting snails and clams. They bathe, gossip, playfully splash water on friends while dipping coconut shells into the sand for the clams. The marine clams most frequently gathered are Kalaykay and Toway; the marine snails are Tabono and Tapdaday.

At the July full moon I visited the seashore one afternoon. The most popular place to collect snails and clams is a rocky stretch of beach just east of the Siaton River mouth. About seventy individuals were hunting along the rocky beach; they were women or young girls and a very few elderly men. Ten were from Catiugan; others came from the poblacion, from Barrios Mantuyop, and from Sumalaring. Some dug in the sand for clams, and put them into a container or popped them into their mouths. When their mouths were full they walked to the beach and put these clams in a container. Some women dropped the clams into their blouse fronts.

The most abundant of all these marine snails and clams is the Kalaykay; about the size of a quarter. The Tapdagay, said to be "very good eating," are often collected on rainy days when they stick to stones in shallow water.

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Barriofolk rarely go to the nipa swamps just to collect clams and snails. They usually combine this task with getting nipa leaves.

(See Plate XL. Figure B was seen in Pangasinan province, Luzon.)[1] Pana sa isda are usually from five to ten 227
inches long, the arrows from fifteen to twenty inches; posil-posil sa isda may be from one and one-half to five feet in length whereas the arrows are from twenty to forty inches long. I shot a posil-posil sa isda that hurled a 40-inch arrow 20 feet, penetrating half way through a medium-sized banana trunk. Often a posil-posil sa isda may have as many as four to six rubber bands to increase the arrow's velocity; some will shoot an arrow 150 feet, although after the first twenty or thirty feet the flight is not straight.

The posil-posil sa isda is used more for "shooting" 226
larger fish in the sea; the pana sa isda is for river fishing. Most boys as young as seven or eight years, 462
have a pana sa isda that they use with considerable skill. Women never and young girls rarely "shoot" fish, either in the river or the sea. Young boys go to the river wearing home-made goggles and stand for hours in the water, now and then ducking their heads beneath the surface to look for small fish. The goggles are made of wood with pieces of broken glass for lenses. The glass is sometimes affixed to the handcarved wooden frames with the wax of wild honeycomb. Usually a boy wears a bamboo container at his waist for catch.

Morning or afternoon, one might see two or three small boys, standing in the river, with their heads popping in and out of the water. Sometimes they stayed

1 [See p. 562, cat. 227 -- Analyst]

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Nearly all of the boats are equipped with a coconut shell or bamboo bailer. One baroto had a hole in the bottom of the hull, from which a wooden plug could be removed to empty the boat of water. Paddles (bossay) are made from a light, sturdy wood. When boats are beached they usually are covered with palm fronds to protect them from the heat and rain. Some large bancas are kept in palm leaf sheds when not in use.

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A young boy who lives in a seaside barrio becomes adept at handling a baroto; the young girls have less chance to learn. While women may ride as passengers in boats they rarely, if ever, go fishing; almost all aspects of pelagic fishing are masculine. No toy boats or small boats were seen in the fishing barrios for teaching young boys skills necessary when they become adults.

Summary

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Securing aquatic products, from creeks, rivers and sea, consumes more time on the part of the barriofolk than any other activity except agriculture. It is necessary to make traps and nets, keep them in repair, and inspect them for catches. The people of Caticugan, however, depended little upon the sea for aquatic foods although the community is near the coast. When the cost of a fish corral is known, it is apparent that most barriofolk lack the necessary capital for the initial investment in boat, nets, building supplies, etc. Although a bobo trap could be made by most of the Caticugan barriofolk, one reason why so few have bobos is the lack of a boat. No

These attitudes and customs associated with securing aquatic products in Siaton illustrate how Catholicism overlaid the ancient religious concepts. Animism and Catholicism operate in different conceptual frames of reference and barriofolk shift from one to the other without any severe conflict. This situation may explain the relative ease with which the Spanish padres "converted" Filipinos to Catholicism in the past.

The technology of aquatic products, like that of agriculture, also illustrates the sexual division of labor. Some activities are strictly male or female; for a male to participate in women's activities would render him suspect. For example, the only men in Caticugan who were vendors of vegetables, guhang or rice cakes, were individuals known to the barriofolk as bayutes, highly feminine-acting men. There are some activities that either a male or a female may perform as far as the participants' physical strength is concerned, or take into consideration the restricted mobility of most women. The concept of menstrual pollution is another factor; e.g., women should not climb guhang trees (spoil flavor of drink), approach men making boats (the wood might crack), or approach the fish corral (the bonsod's luck might be lost). Age may modify one's role in certain activities. For example, old men may and do help women gather clams and snails at the seashore, an activity in which most young men would not think of participating.

The religious concepts of Caticugan barriofolk are integrated into most aspects of their culture. Religion

high, with a capacity of about 8-1/4 pounds of clean rice; the largest was 9 inches high with a capacity of 4-1/2 pounds. It took her about two days to make the large pot; four or five of the smaller ones could be made in the same time--of course, after the clay had been gathered and prepared for working.

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BURI WEAVING

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Weaving of buri (Cebuano: buli) palm bags and sleeping mats is the most widespread of all handicrafts in the Siaton River valley. Large buri bags (balayut), four or five feet high, serve to store rice or shelled corn. Smaller bags (bolugasan) are used to carry shelled corn to the poblacion mills for grinding for storage. Sleeping mats (banig) are about three to five feet in width and four to six feet in length. Plate LXX,[1] A and B, shows the type of weave used for making both the bags and sleeping mats. Drawing B (Plate LXX) shows how the edges of the sleeping mats are finished. Weaving buri bags and mats is strictly a woman's job, although men cut the fronds.

415 352 285 [462]

Preparing the Buri for Weaving

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Unopened immature buri fronds are cut from the tree's crown. The best time to cut the fronds was said to be the period of the new moon; if gathered at any other time the fronds are very brittle and difficult to weave. After the unopened fronds are cut, they are pulled apart and placed, fan-like, on the ground to dry for two or three days.

1 [See p. 703, cat. 285, or 116 -- Analyst]

barriofolk. Possibly the developing jute industry of the Philippines will replace buri plaiting in the future.

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BARRIO BASKETS

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Three major types of baskets used by the barriofolk of Caticugan are: (1) the harvest basket, bukag; (2) the winnowing basket, niggo or ayagang; (3) and the shallow kalalaw used in abaca weaving. Several other types of baskets were made by schoolchildren in the poblacion but never used in the barrio; they are taught to make small bags and baskets that can be sold as curios. Basket-making is said to be predominately a woman's job, although some men make bukags. Baskets were made so rarely in Caticugan that I never saw any of these three types being plaited.

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The bukag, previously mentioned in connection with the corn harvests, is a loosely plaited basket of thin strips of bamboo and rattan about 2 feet in height with an 18-inch opening. The bukag is roughly made and does not take much time to plait. This type of basket, to my knowledge, is always made by the barriofolk; I never saw any for sale in either the poblacion or Dumaguete. They are used, almost entirely, to carry unhusked corn from the fields to the house or storehouse.

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The wide shallow basket used for winnowing the chaff from pounded rice or ground corn is called the niggo or ayagang. This basket also is plaited from rattan and thin pieces of bamboo. An increasing number of them are

supports. (See Plate LXXII, 4 and 22.)[1] Unlike the looms in Ilocos that are built underneath the house, using the upright beams supporting the dwelling for part of the loom structure, Caticugan looms are kept inside the dwelling. The loom is a Malayan horizontal type with two foot treadles that manipulate two cord heddles for speedy intercalation of the spool shuttle.[11] The weaving product is a coarsely-woven stiff fabric called abaca (Cebuano: hinabol).

Nearly all women who wove abaca said they learned the technique from their mothers; one informant said she was taught by her father who had learned from his mother. A few men were said to weave, although no men living in Caticugan did so.

Stripping the fibers from the abaca plant and building the loom are a man's work, whereas the processing of the fiber, weaving and the final preparation of the cloth are a woman's work. Several older women in Caticugan were able to weave when they were in their early teens. There was one abandoned loom in Caticugan that the owner said was smaller than the normal loom; it had been used by a mother to teach the girl to weave. Normally, however a girl learns to weave on the regular-size loom.

No abaca is grown in Caticugan so the fibers must be purchased from abaca-growing communities. This may be a minor factor in the decline of weaving in Caticugan.

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[11] On this matter see the articles by H. Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms, Part III: 6. Indonesian Looms," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XLVII, 1917, pp. 323-66.

1 [See p.710, cat. 286 -- Analyst]